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硕 士 学 位 论 文

南苏丹分离前后的中国和苏丹经济关系研究

SINO-SUDANESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS BEFORE

AND AFTER SECESSION OF SOUTH SUDAN

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## 内容摘要

本文研究中国和苏丹、南苏丹的政治和经贸关系。

中国和苏丹自从 1959 年建立外交关系以来，政治和经贸关系稳步发展。在美国对苏丹实施经贸制裁之后，中国通过金融和经济援助，加深了与苏丹联系。中国在苏丹的直接投资，主要集中在石油产业。经过了 21 年的内战，苏丹在 2011 年 7 月 9 日分裂为南北两个国家。拥有原苏丹 90% 石油储量的南部苏丹，从苏丹分裂出来，成为一个新国家。本文认为，中国通过直接投资石油产业，为苏丹和南苏丹的社会经济发展提供了良机，中国与苏丹和南苏丹的关系，有利于三方的国家利益。

关键词：中国 苏丹南苏丹 经贸关系 石油

## Abstract

The study explores the China and Sudan political and economic relations.

Sino-Sudanese established diplomatic relations since 1959; The Sino-Sudanese relation has slowly progressed into partnership in which the stakes are regularly being raised as the reliance on economic and political cooperation increases.

China came to Sudan through aid and financial technical assistance, after the U.S government imposed economic, trade and financial sanctions on Sudan and banned U.S companies from conducting business in Sudan. The country tried to search for alternative donor. China appears to be ready to explore on Sudan's oil and invest heavily in the oil sector with a lot of promises, in which Sudan governments accepted Chinese offer.

During the 21 years of Civil War in Sudan, China was the major factor in the Northern Sudan and was investing heavily in the oil sector. However, most of the Chinese FDI in Sudan is in the oil sector. On the July 9, 2011 South Sudan separated from Sudan with roughly 90 percent of the total oil. The study argues China presence in Sudan as an opportunity, and China relationship is very instrumental as well as Sudan is important to China. In another vain, the oil triangle of Sudan, South Sudan and China is vital to secure the interest of the three partners.

**Key Words:** Sino-Sudanese Economic Relations; Aid and Technical Assistance; Political Relations; Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this humble work to my father Hon. Albert Pitya Redentore, Minister of Local Government and Law Enforcement, Central Equatoria State, Republic of South Sudan, my beloved Mother, Ustaza/ Christina Keji Morris. I also dedicate this to especial one in my life, my lovely wife Suzan Dino Samson Jada and my beloved Sons, Simone Samson Jada Albert, Stephen Samson Jada Albert and Samuel Samson Jada Albert. Not forgetting my lovely sisters, Jolly Albert Pitya Redentore, Sidonia Albert Pitya Redentore and Gloria Albert Pitya Redentore.

Lastly, to all my colleagues in school of International Relations, Xiamen University, friends and all whom have supported me in my education, and to all whom I love.

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## Acronyms

<b>AECA</b>	Approve Enterprise Concession Act
<b>APCO</b>	Advance Petroleum Company
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CCP</b>	Chinese Communist Party
<b>CNPC</b>	China National Petroleum Corporation
<b>CPA</b>	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
<b>CPC</b>	Communist Party of China
<b>CSTP</b>	Cultural, Scientific and Technical Protocol
<b>ETC</b>	Economic and Technical Cooperation
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EXIM</b>	Export and Import
<b>FOCAC</b>	Forum on China-African Cooperation
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Direct Investment
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GNPOC</b>	Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company
<b>GONU</b>	Government of National Unity
<b>GOS</b>	Government of Sudan
<b>GOSS</b>	Government of South Sudan
<b>HE</b>	His Excellency
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Indicators
<b>HDR</b>	Human Development Report
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>KW</b>	Kilo Watts
<b>LDCs</b>	Less Develop Countries
<b>MFNE</b>	Ministry of Finance and National Economy
<b>MOI</b>	Ministry of Finance
<b>NCP</b>	National Congress Party
<b>ONGC</b>	Oil and Natural Gas Corporation
<b>OPEC</b>	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
<b>PDOC</b>	Petrodar Operating Company
<b>RSPOC</b>	Red Sea Petroleum Operating Company

<b>SPLM/A</b>	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army
<b>SSA</b>	Sub Saharan Africa
<b>TNCs</b>	Chinese Transnational Corporation
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNAMID</b>	African Union- United Nation Mission in Darfur
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nation Development Program
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USD</b>	United States Dollar
<b>WNPOC</b>	White Nile Petroleum Operating Company

## Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

Sudan established diplomatic relationship with China in 1959. Since then the relationship with China has developed, based on such mutual non-interference, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual benefits and equality. Both countries supported each other at the international level.

Sudanese support for “One China Policy” and working with other African countries in China’s accession to the United Nation UN in 1971. China support Sudan, as an evident recently in international organizations and Security Council in establishment of joint peace keeping forces of the African Union (AU) and United Nation (UN). The principle of mutual non- interference has been key factor for the relationship with China to withstand the changing political regimes of Sudan, which have alternated between parliamentary democracy to military rules, and for the economic relationship with China to grow tremendously for mutual benefits of both countries. This relationship which started as early as 60’s with bilateral trade agreement for long staple cotton export to China in return for manufactured and capital goods, has shown a continually rising trend.<sup>1</sup>

In 1970, the two countries signed Agreement of Economic and Technical Cooperation and a Cultural Scientific and Technical Protocol, which strengthened trade relations, and boosted Chinese aid in form of free-interest loans, which were used in number of projects in roads, bridges construction, textile and agriculture and construction of the multi-purpose conference hall “Friendship Hall” in Khartoum. Aid projects were executed by Chinese workers with Sudanese counterparts. Technical cooperation followed with batches of Chinese doctors sent to work in Chinese aid is seen as providing assistance in vitally needed infrastructural projects and is appreciated for meeting the demand for medical services where they are lacking in rural and Sub urban areas. The Chinese were hailed for their dedication,

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<sup>1</sup> N A. Maglad, “*Scoping Study on Chinese Relations with Sudan*”, (Dar as Salam, Tanzania: AERC, 2007), Revised Draft Feb. 2008, p.1 [http://www.aercafrica.org/documents/china\\_africa\\_relations/sudan.pdf](http://www.aercafrica.org/documents/china_africa_relations/sudan.pdf)

honesty and timely completion of low cost and appropriate technologies which provided job opportunities.<sup>2</sup>

The investment in oil sector presented an opportunity for China to meet its demand for energy for her growing economy and sustained the political regime in Sudan, which was squeezed for foreign capital due to boycott by foreign donors, was politically isolated regionally and internationally, financial institutions like IMF. Oil revenues and introduction of macro economic reform policies, and liberalization of trade and investment regimes in the beginning of the 90s, which induced foreign direct investment flows from rich oil countries in the Middle East, relieved the government and help it to break away from the economic and political embargo under which it was put.

As a result of development in the oil sector, direct investment by Chinese government owned Companies and private Chinese entrepreneurs has grown substantially, in diverse activities, mining, building and construction of roads and bridges, electricity and water sectors. China has also stepped up its aid and monetary and non- monetary terms. Trade with China has grown with oil representing the bulk of it and, the importation of manufactured goods, capital and transport goods. The economic interest of China in Sudan which has grown substantially during the decade of the 90s were not however, free risk. China has become the major trading partner of Sudan, with her huge investment on the oil industry and importation of Sudan oil. This role as seen as consolidating the government position through growth of the economy and provision of resources and hence as declared by movements fighting the government in Darfur, and previously by Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army (SPLM/A) before the peace deal was signed through a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Southern Sudan. China's oil interest has become legitimate target in order to deter the onslaught on these groups, and led to attack on oil installations.

Eventually the conflict to Darfur, through its humanitarian dimension and displacement of population and lose of lives, have rallied support of international and humanitarian organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) against China and the call for more active role on her part towards solution of the conflict. These developments in China's relationship with Sudan are said to have put China's principle of non-interference in the in-

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<sup>2</sup> Ali A, *The Sudanese- Chinese Relations before and after Oil, Khartoum*, (Khartoum: Sudan Currency Printing Press Bank of Sudan, Annual Reports, Different issues, 2006), revised draft by El-bedwi 2008, 1-3.

ternal affairs of other countries to the test.<sup>3</sup> China, since has taken keen to balance its action of pursuing her economic interests and paying attention to realities of the intricacies of political entanglement in which it found itself implicated in Sudan. China has played a key role in persuading Sudan to accept a joint African Union/UN Peace Keeping Force (UNAMID) in Darfur in 2007, and has contributed 315 soldiers to the mission from the Chinese Army Engineering Division. Its proactive diplomacy has shown a firm interest in working with international community, and through pressuring the government to resolve the conflict, and expresses concern for the plight of Darfurians by stepping up grants and humanitarian assistance, and appointing a special Chinese Envoy for Darfur. A total Yuan 80 million (US\$ 11million) in humanitarian aid to Darfur was extended in 2007 to build 250 water stations, 55 schools, and for transport vehicles and health equipments.

China has also shown keen interest for development relations with Government of South Sudan (GoSS), after the signing of CPA in 2005 which resolve the Southern conflict; this was marked by two visits of to China by H.E. Salva Kiir Mayardit, first as second in Command to the late Dr. John Garang who died in a plane crash in 2005, and he became the successor, later in 2007 as the President of Government of Southern Sudan and the 1<sup>st</sup> Vice President in the Government of National Unity (GONU).

The objective of the study to analyze Sino-Sudanese economic and political relations, as Sudan has become China's largest oil importer in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study will also examine China's presence in the country and its impact on the economy. The main objective of this research to examine the relationship of China and Sudan over the past years since it was established in late 1950s and its impact on Sudanese Socio-economic development. Finally, to analyze Sino-Sudanese relations regarding the Western criticism for China presents in Africa as a new colony, and China's principal of non-interference in Sudan politics.

## 1.2 Motivation

The Sino-Sudanese relations attract the world attention, it was been misunderstood by the Western countries. The western media has been accusing China of stealing Sudan's oil and interfering in Sudan local politics, especially in the case of Darfur and before Southern Sudan civil war, which has gone for two decades.

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<sup>3</sup> Large, D: *"Between all Weather friend' and responsible power; China and the Contradiction of non-interference in Sudan.* (London: Rift Valley Institute Sudan open achieve, 2007), 93-103.

The sum, it was relatively newness of the study of modern Sino-Sudanese relations, Sudan's controversial experience with the West, the motivation driving China's engagement with Sudan, the current dynamism of China-Sudan cooperation, the extend in which opinions differ, that are all motivating factors that let me want to analyze and understand this topic on much deeper level.

### **1.3 Source and Methodology**

The methodology that will be used in this research both primary and secondary data. I gathered primary data by conducting personal interviews and some telephone conversation with Sudanese and South Sudanese Students, some Sudanese businessman leaving in China; I also conducted oral interviews in South Sudanese and Sudanese officials in their Ministries during my summer vocation.

The statistics relied upon this research will comes from non- governmental organizations (NGOs) for International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, Petroleum Companies in Sudan and South Sudan.

Secondary data come from the work of scholars and academic papers, Sino-Sudan political and economic relation will be covered in journals, official documents, press release, Independent news papers, previous research, any information related to study on the internet e.t.c.

### **1.4 Literature Review**

Since the establishment of relationship between China and Sudan in late 50s most of the analysis seems to correspond on China's interest on Sudan's oil.

In relevant study, the writer focused on the Chinese investment in Sudan pointing out some Chinese investments, China National Petroleum Corp (CNPC) who owns 40 percent the largest share-- of the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Co. (GNPOC), a consortium that dominates Sudan's oil deal fields in partnership with national energy company, and firms from Malaysia and India. The Chinese company joined with Sudan's Ministry of Energy to build country's largest refinery, and in 2003 the company invested \$ 300 million expansion that nearly double the production.

The author further stated that China's transformation from an insular, agrarian society into a key force in the global economy has spawned a voracious appetite for raw materials,

sending its companies to distant points of globe in pursuit—sometimes to lands shunned by the rest of the world as rogue states. He said China relationship with Sudan has become particularly deep, demonstrating that China's commercial relations are intensify human rights concerns outside its borders while beginning to clash with U.S policies and interests.

He accused China of supporting Sudan, China is in a lucrative partnership that delivers billions of dollars in investment, oil revenue and weapons—as well as diplomatic protection—to a government accused by the United States of genocide in Darfur and cited by human rights groups for systematic massacring civilians and chasing them off ancestral lands to clear oil producing areas.<sup>4</sup>

“China confronts foreign competition, ‘Chinese companies must go places for oil where Americans and Europeans companies are not present Sudan represents this strategy put into practice’”<sup>5</sup>

In another comparative study, argued about the Darfur case. It is a very complicated case, with historical origins, refugee migration, and poverty all playing a role. The writer, went further by mentioning the reasons which led to the Darfur war, the first point is the crisis in Darfur is mainly caused by environmental degradation, as it was pointed out in the report of 2007 by UN Environmental Program; “Environmental degradation as well as regional climate instability and change, are major underlying causes of food insecurity and conflict in Darfur.”<sup>6</sup> Secondly, Darfur is a regional tragedy that affects many people and disastrously impacts the region so this crisis is related to development and can only be solve through development. Thirdly, the crisis in Darfur is expressed as a conflict between different Sudanese people. Nation building is a difficult process for all countries. He argued the media of accusing China in Sudan Darfur case “China takes Sudan under its wing”, he indicated that China has played a greater role in the Darfur issue by using its ties to the Sudan to persuade the Sudanese government to cooperate with the United Nation (UN). Since there is mutual respect and trust, China can work with the Sudanese government to find solution agreeable to all parties to alleviate the suffering of Sudanese people. Recently, the Sudanese government has accepted “hybrid peacekeeping force” in Darfur and it was through the effort of China. He

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<sup>4</sup> Peter S. Goodman. “*China Invest heavily In Sudan's oil Industry*”. Washington Post Foreign Service (2004). December 23, Page A01.

<sup>5</sup>Chen Fengying, an expert at China Contemporary International Relation Institute, which is based in Beijing and affiliated with State Security System.

<sup>6</sup> Robert I. Rotberg. “*China into Africa*”. *Trade, Aid, and Influence*. (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), 37-39.

noted that China has constantly supporting the Sudanese people with humanitarian Aid, aside from offering help to Sudan to build its oil industry and infrastructure.

China has been involved in the international efforts to solve the Darfur problem in Sudan since the year of 2004. China adopts three approaches for her participation in the process: multilateral cooperation, bilateral coordination, and the role played by Chinese enterprises in Sudan.<sup>7</sup>

In another vain, mentioned that China has good relations with Sudan since 1959. Sudan has developed a policy in recent years of looking east where the major players are India, Malaysia, Japan, South Korea and especially China. It was until the 1990s; however, that trade became important factor, primary because of Sudan's ability to export oil. Today China is Sudan's most important partner and arguably, its most significant political partner. After Angola and South Africa, Sudan is China's third largest Africa trading partner. China's trade to Sudan amounts to 8% of its total trade with Africa. But this trade constitutes only about one- quarter of one percent of global China's global trade.

As a percentage of global Chinese oil imports, Sudanese oil has actually declined in importance. Sudan provided over 9% of China's imported crude in 2002; it fell to 6% in 2007, although there are fluctuations in annual percentages. China is taking about 40% percent of Sudan's oil production. With respect to Chinese investments in Africa, Sudan is considered to be one of the most important locations for Chinese investment in Africa.<sup>8</sup>

China is seen not only as big consumer of petroleum after United States, but as a challenger to its hegemony. It is alleged that China's approach to trade and FDI, especially in the African context, represents a "neo-liberalism" with Chinese characteristic or a "Beijing consensus" which is in sharp contrast with what the West has had on offer through "Washington consensus" and "Post Washington consensus". This process of unfolding bipolarism, analogous to US-Soviet competition during the Cold War, would therefore provide an alternative "new developing model" for less developed countries (LDCs) to choose. China's oil invest-

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<sup>7</sup> S. Xuefeng & J. Feng, *Analysis of the Basic Way of China's Participation in the Solution of the Darfur Issue*, NKI March, 2009, retrieved November 26, 2012, [http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html) (Journal Papers, 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Ambassador David H. Shinn, *China's Relations with Zimbabwe, Sudan and, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*, (Boston: The New England School of Law, 2008), accessed October 20, 2012, [http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html)



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